WAR

721 War, with the Papagos, was not an occasion for prestige as with the Plains tribes nor of booty as with the Apache. It was a disagreeable necessity. The enemy, generally the Apache, was regarded as a shaman. His person, or anything that had touched him, was taboo. Therefore all booty was burned and the man who had killed an enemy or been wounded by him had to go through a long ordeal of purification.

721 War was enveloped in a mass of ritual but none of it was in glorification of combat. The ceremonial orations frequently end: "It is that vile wretch (the enemy) not we, who is uttering threats." Men were urged to fight in order to do their duty by their kinsmen and when this duty was done, they had to spend both time and material goods in purification during which they were frequently adjured:

"Verily who desires this?
Do not you desire it?
Then learn to endure hardship."

The reward of victory for the individual was the acquisition of power, not for war, but for curing. For the community as a whole it was that summum bonum of an agricultural people, rain and a good harvest.

702 Nevertheless, because of the Apache menace, the Papago were forced to train their youths to war; the respected men in the community had to be Enemy Slayers and a man who had no taste for fighting at all was practically forced to declare himself a berdache. Training began when boys were about fourteen.

[517] In leisure periods, like the time after harvest, boys would be gathered daily at the house of the Keeper of the Meeting and he or the war leader would tell them war stories and explain fighting methods (9). Beginning with the age of twelve or so, they were given practice in using the shield, in shooting and dodging arrows. A row of boys holding shields would stand at one end of an open space and at the other a row with bows and blunt, wooden-tipped arrows. They were told to run toward each other and at a given distance the archers were to shoot, aiming at the legs so a wound would not be dangerous.

The business of the shield bearers was not to attack but to learn to dodge the arrows. They were told never to stand with their legs

Z: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935)1939 NU28 Papago NU28

together, since this made a better target. They were to watch the arrows as they left the bow, to squat to avoid the high ones, leap to avoid the low ones, or throw the body from side to side. Boys practised in this way alone whenever they had a chance. They also practised shooting, by throwing a bundle of rags in the air and trying to shoot it before it fell. Before a war party all the fighters practised in this way under the direction of the war leader or the retired warriors.

The Apache were the enemies of whom the Papago went in constant fear. Although the Spanish writers speak of Yuman captives taken by the "Pimas" and of wars among the Pimas themselves, these differences must have ceased with the growing of the Apache menace. The word *ohp*, enemy, is always translated Apache, for which there is no other term. No distinction is made between the divisions of the Apache or between Apache and Navajo, and the term might possibly include other nomadic tribes, such as the Comanche.

The Apache raided storehouses and carried off young women as captives, but their principal objective was horses, which they wanted not to ride but to eat. "They were always hungry." Apprehension because of an attack was a constant factor in Papago life. "You never knew when an Apache would jump yelling off the roof of your house when you went out at dawn" (27). The men were urged nightly in the council to be on their guard. A typical speech of admonition given by a father to his sons is the following:

"At dawn you must rise. Listen all about you for something. Look all about you for something. All kinds of things there may be for you to find. Apache tracks may be visible. If you find them, you will tell of it and you will follow. Even if you do not overtake them, you will follow far before you drop the trail. You will learn that certainly they passed that way. Perhaps you will learn that there are many of them, camping somewhere, expecting to come down and attack us." (22)

But the principal time for raids was in winter, after the harvest was in. The short rainy season in midwinter was the best opportunity. "The Apaches are shamans. They control the mist and rain and always travel under cover of it." The usual attack was made before dawn, when some horses were run off and a few women and children killed. In one case, there is record of a whole village being exterminated.

"One night my mother told my father she was sure something was going to happen, so they left the village. That night the Apache came. Some of the women were out in the menstruation house,

7: Lumholtz N-5 (1909-1910)1912
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701 It must not be forgotten what a part the supernatural plays [788] in the Indian's life; cure for disease is sought less in remedies than in magic devices, and combat with an enemy means first of all a fight of magic with magic. Once, as one of their tales goes, an Apache was completely surrounded, but the Papagoes feared to attack him until one of them stepped forward carrying his shield with its symbolic inscriptions and supposed magic effect. The Apache fired his rifle at him, but missed his aim because he was overcome by the shield's magic power, which even split his thumb, so that he could not fire straight. This was ascertained by the Papagoes when examining the body of the Apache afterward. 702 Nevertheless, the education of the boy included as a matter of course ability to handle arms and the mastery of all that pertained to making a good warrior. In the nightly meetings at the council house, he was taught, besides, how to practise for the races and how to hunt. A considerable amount of sane advice would be imparted to the young man, and I cannot refrain from quoting here the late Mr. Frank Russell in his recent memoir* on the Pima Indians, from whom the Papago segregated long ago. He describes the exhortations of a Pima father to his son in the following manner: "If you are wounded in battle, don't make a great outcry about it like a child. Pull out the arrow and slip away; or, if hard stricken, die with a silent throat. Go on the war trail with a small blanket. It is light and protection enough for

*Twenty-sixth Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology, Washington.

7: Lumholtz N-5 (1909-1910) 1912
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one aided by the magicians. Inure yourself to the cold while yet a boy. Fight not at all with your comrades; preserve your strength for the combat with the Apaches; then, if brave, will come to you high honor. Be unselfish or you will not be welcome at the fire of the friendly; the selfish man is lonely and his untended fire dies. Keep your peace when a foolish man addresses the people. Join not in his imprudent counsellings. Above all, talk not foolishly yourself. Bathe in the cold water of the early morning, that you may be prepared for the purification ceremony after killing an enemy!"

When an Apache campaign was decided upon, there was much preparation for the fray, and the feasts and ceremonies connected with the return of a victorious party were among the most elaborate, foot-races and gambling forming a part. If the Apaches killed some of the Papagoes, the former were believed to take the clouds away, so the Papagoes had to go and kill some of them in order to bring the clouds back. Sometimes the Apaches would be discovered in a week, and sometimes a whole month would pass before the encounter. The provisions consisted of pinole; bows and arrows, lances and clubs were the weapons, and almost every one of the party had a shield. The Apaches have been credited with a superstition about fighting at night, and the Pimas at least are said to have used this disinclination to their advantage. On returning, those who had killed Apaches had to stay away from their houses and bathe early in the morning before sunrise four times at intervals of four days. One man was appointed to pro-

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727 vide them with water and food, of which they partook
783 sparingly. Meat and salt were forbidden. He would come by night and they would smoke tobacco together. The first night was spent in dancing. After sixteen days' seclusion in this manner, the feast would come off, but the dieting and abstention on the part of the slayers lasted sixteen days more. If a man had killed an Apache before, he did not need to go so far away from the house or be so rigorous in his diet as the inexperienced young man.

702 Sham battles used to be a prominent feature in the
796 social life of the Papago. The last one was given five
536 years previous to my visit to Ánekam in the Santa Rosa valley and there was some talk of having one again in the near future. In these sham battles dummies of straw are placed in the mountains, sometimes at a distance of a two days' excursion. In the evenings before the attack the men sit for a while in a large circle, their weapons lying in the centre, but they soon disperse around the different fires to sleep, while some of them watch. Somebody goes ahead and makes a big fire near the dummies, and the attack begins at dawn. Four men have been chosen to kill the dummies, only one, who leads, carrying a shield; they all have feathers attached to their hats or to specially made leather caps.

On their return there is dancing for four nights and singing; the dancing is similar to that of the sahuaro feast. Some of the men, who are well paid by general contributions, play the part of those who kill Apaches, imitating their actions; one of them carries a shield and

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the rest have ordinary weapons. The four who killed 702
the dummies keep away from the dancing place until 796
the last night. They fast, and must not drink water. 536
Pits are made in the ground, a hundred yards or more away, which are a foot deep and wide enough to hold a man sitting with legs crossed. Here the four warriors have to sit immovable during the whole night, holding the scalps of the supposed Apaches, and care being taken that they do not face either the sun or the moon. Special songs are sung for these men. One man looks after them, and they are under so much restriction that they cannot scratch their heads or any part of their body with their hands, but have to apply a small greasewood twig if the necessity arises. Their wives, who also fast, sit in pits behind their husbands. After the dance is over the four men still have to keep up the taboo and dieting four days longer; then they bathe, and when they go to sleep many songs come to them in their dreams. Among the Pimas, when the warrior had killed an Apache, his wife made a tray, with a large svastika design interwoven.

The primitive condition of Papago society is giving 578
way to the new, but not without a jar. In old times in the house of a prominent man, with his four or five wives, no quarrels would arise. When his household was increased by the additional families of his sons who, according to ancient custom, made their homes with him, the serene atmosphere continued; there was no question of mother-in-law, or other disturbing factors, in their nicely adjusted relations. The families were large and peace